

PaK v IaK: Getting beyond a referendum

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About this Poll

The Cvoter Foundation of Delhi collected the Indian administered Kashmir (IaK) sample for this poll and was responsible for the overall management of this project in collaboration with Dr. Colin Irwin of the Institute of Irish Studies at the University of Liverpool. Full particulars of how this poll was completed in 2008, with detailed results, are all available on the project website at www.peacepolls.org. The data for the Pakistan administered Kashmir (PaK) part of this poll were collected in February 2009 by D3 Systems, Inc. of Virginia to produce 1200 interviews as a representative sample of PaK in terms of age, gender, social background and geographical area.

Introduction

In the summer of 2008 Kashmir witnessed the worst outbreak of communal riots and killings in over a decade and it seemed as if Kashmir might once again become the crucible of regional violence. But Benazir Bhutto had been brutally assassinated only 6 months earlier in Rawalpindi in December 2007 and in November 2008, six months after the Kashmir riots international terrorists with Pakistan connections were held responsible for the Mumbai massacre. Following the attempt to abduct the Sri Lanka cricket team in Lahore and increased activity of militants throughout the country commentators were suggesting Pakistan might soon become the next failed state. The Pakistan army have now entered the Swat valley in force to confront the Taliban but force alone will not solve all these problems.

In this context a subset of the questions asked in Indian administered Kashmir (IaK) last year were repeated in Pakistan administered Kashmir (PaK) this year in the hope of discovering any possibilities at all for a diplomatic intervention that just might help to contribute to a resolution of this crisis and that might also enjoy wide popular support.

The Constitutional Question

When various constitutional options were presented to the people of IaK last year the results were very clear. The overwhelming preference of the Muslims, particularly for those in the Valley, was an independent Kashmir (63% 'essential', 15% 'desirable', 10% 'acceptable', 4% 'tolerable' and 7% 'unacceptable'). But the Hindus of Jammu and the Buddhists of Ladakh wanted to stay with India and rejected the independence option at 59% and 74% 'unacceptable' respectively (Table 1). Critically, however, the Muslims of IaK, at 71% 'unacceptable' over all, along with the Hindus at 78% and

Buddhists at 84% 'unacceptable' also firmly rejected joining with Pakistan. Clearly if the Muslim population of PaK followed this same pattern with a call for independence and a rejection of the state of Pakistan then a new fault line might emerge in the region between the Muslims of PaK and the Valley on the one hand and the Hindus and Buddhists on the other. This, however, has not happened.

Table 1. A constitutional package for Kashmir – per cent 'unacceptable'

	A L L P a K	A L L I a K	laK M U S L I M	laK H I N D U	laK B U D D H I S T	V A L L E Y	J A M M U	L A D A H K
1. Join Pakistan - All of J and K should become a part of Pakistan like any other Pakistan Province	3	74	71	78	84	69	77	87
2. Full Independence – All 5 Districts should join to become the independent state of Kashmir with responsibility for both their domestic and foreign policy and protecting their borders with Pakistan, India and China	6	32	16	58	74	7	50	62
3. Disintegration – Each of the 5 Districts should be allowed to choose their own future with Pakistan or India	8	49	49	50	63	53	47	48
4. Regional integration and devolution – Pakistan and Indian Kashmir should function like a Co-Federation with an open boarder and decentralisation/local control in all Regions, Districts and Blocks	9	32	27	40	55	22	39	49
5. No change – The status quo should stay the same with present Central, State and Regional arrangements for governance	7	34	47	12	3	58	17	3
6. Autonomy – Full implementation of Article 370 and return to the status existing in J and K before 1953 with a Parliament and Prime Minister leaving only defence, foreign policy and communications to India	21	23	27	15	61	34	14	33
7. Join India – All of J and K should become a part of India like any other Indian State	25	34	49	10	13	63	13	13

The first preference for the people of PaK is to stay with Pakistan at 43% 'essential', 15% 'desirable', 30% 'acceptable', 8% 'tolerable' and 3% 'unacceptable' (Table 2). In time they might be persuaded to join an independent Kashmir, as they do not rigorously reject this prospect either at only 6% 'unacceptable'. But then they do not rigorously reject any of the options on offer (Table 2) except perhaps for joining with India (25% 'unacceptable') unlike their brothers in laK who so strongly reject joining with Pakistan (71% 'unacceptable'). Even on this option, however, the people of PaK seem to be split with a significant minority (20% 'essential' and 18% 'desirable') open to the prospect of a future with India.

Table 2. A constitutional package for Kashmir – results for PaK

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Join Pakistan - All of J and K should become a part of Pakistan like any other Pakistan Province	43	15	30	8	3
Full Independence – All 5 Districts should join to become the independent state of Kashmir with responsibility for both their domestic and foreign policy and protecting their borders with Pakistan, India and China	19	38	27	8	6
Disintegration – Each of the 5 Districts should be allowed to choose their own future with Pakistan or India	35	26	19	10	8
Regional integration and devolution – Pakistan and Indian Kashmir should function like a Co-Federation with an open boarder and decentralisation/local control in all Regions, Districts and Blocks	29	31	19	9	9
No change – The status quo should stay the same with present Central, State and Regional arrangements for governance	33	26	24	8	7
Autonomy – Full implementation of Article 370 and return to the status existing in J and K before 1953 with a Parliament and Prime Minister leaving only defence, foreign policy and communications to India	24	25	18	8	21
Join India – All of J and K should become a part of India like any other Indian State	20	18	24	8	25

The Government in Pakistan, who fear the break up of their state, may gain some reassurance from this result. However, the political leadership of various militant groups who want a referendum on the future of Kashmir will most likely be disappointed by this lack of consensus. These 2 polls seem to indicate that a referendum would not help to resolve the question of Kashmir but might only serve to confuse the issue with PaK wishing to stay with Pakistan, the Valley seeking independence and Jammu and Ladakh voting to remain with India. Why is this and what is the way forward?

The Problems

For the PaK survey 18 problems that seemed to be relevant for all Kashmiri's were selected from an original list of 37 problems previously run in the IaK poll (Table 3). 'Poor quality of education', 'Independence will not bring safe boarders with Kashmir's neighbours' and 'India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result' come in together at the top of the PaK list at 42% and 41% 'very significant'. The people of IaK put 'Corrupt administration' at the top of their list at 59% 'very significant' followed by 'High levels of unemployment'

at 56% (it is fourth on the PaK list) and 'India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result' 3rd at 54%.

Table 3. The common 'problems' faced by the people of PaK and laK in order of significance

	PaK per cent	Very Significant	laK per cent	Very Significant
1st	Poor quality of education	42%	Corrupt administration	59%
2nd	Independence will not bring safe borders with Kashmir's neighbours	41%	High levels of unemployment	56%
3rd	India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	41%	India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	54%
4th	High levels of unemployment	38%	Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	45%
5th	The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	32%	The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going	45%
6th	Denial of democratic rights	32%	Poor quality of infrastructure and services	45%
7th	Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict	30%	Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict	44%
8th	The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going	29%	The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	43%
9th	Poor quality of infrastructure and services	29%	Violence instigated by Pakistan	40%
10th	Corrupt administration	29%	Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	36%
11th	Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric	27%	Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric	36%
12th	20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir	27%	Denial of democratic rights	35%
13th	Violence instigated by the Indian Army	25%	Poor quality of education	35%
14th	The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights	24%	Independence will not bring safe borders with Kashmir's neighbours	32%
15th	Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	20%	Violence instigated by the Indian Army	31%
16th	Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	20%	The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights	31%
17th	Violence instigated by Pakistan	19%	20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir	27%
18th	Violence instigated by international Jihadists	19%	Violence instigated by international Jihadists	26%

Significantly 'Independence will not bring safe borders with Kashmir's neighbours' is joint 2nd on the PaK list at 41% 'very significant' but it is down at 14th on the IaK list with a variety of other problems preceding it. This result may provide an insight into the reasoning here. Perhaps the people of PaK harbour reservations about independence for security reasons while the people of IaK are more self-assured. However, that self-confidence may be misplaced. When I had an opportunity to raise this point in IaK some of the people I spoke to responded that they thought India might guarantee the borders of an independent Kashmir. Perhaps the people of PaK do not share this perspective and/or do not think Pakistan would or could guarantee the borders of an independent Kashmir. But these are speculations on my part. More research is required here with questions formulated by and for the people of PaK.

It is interesting to note that in addition to 'High levels of unemployment' (4th on the PaK list and 2nd on the IaK list) 'Poor quality of education' is 1st on the PaK list and only 13th on the IaK list while 'Denial of democratic rights' is 5th on the PaK list and only 12th on the IaK list. There are clearly some significant differences in the social and political lives of these two communities and perhaps that is why the Muslims of IaK are so reluctant to become a part of Pakistan? Again more probing questions might help here.

For what appear to be security, social and political reasons we can now see that the possibility of a referendum on joining Pakistan, joining India or independence is unlikely to resolve the problem of Kashmir. Perhaps knowing what not to do is some sort of progress in diplomatic terms but what then to do? That seems to be the question and does the research point to any insights in this regard?

The Solutions

Problems of unemployment are a top priority for all the people of Kashmir in both PaK and IaK. Consequently any proposals to stimulate the economies of both PaK and IaK are well received (Table 4). 'Open trade between India and Pakistan' is the top priority for those interviewed in PaK at 56% 'essential', 15% 'desirable', 13% 'acceptable', 8% 'tolerable' and only 7% 'unacceptable' followed by telephone links, open the ancient silk route, trade across the Line of Control (LoC) and economic strategies for the 2 Kashmirs. The only difficulty here are the Buddhists of Ladakh who are very nervous about closer relations with the Muslim communities and states to their East. They are very conscious of what happened to their people and their shrines in Pakistan and Afghanistan and consequently they consider 'joint strategies for economic development between the 2 Kashmirs' to be 55% 'unacceptable'. If such policies are to be pursued then India and Pakistan as well as the Muslims of Kashmir will have to make a very special effort to reassure the Buddhists of Ladakh of their good intentions in this regard.

Table 4. Economic solutions

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Open trade between India and Pakistan	56	15	13	8	7
Telephone links between the 2 Kashmirs	40	28	15	8	7
Open roads of ancient silk route between Leh, Tibet and Pakistan	40	25	18	7	8
Start trade across the LoC	36	30	14	11	7
Joint strategies for economic development between the 2 Kashmirs	33	39	12	10	6

Given their reservations about the state of their democracy and education it is not surprising that the top priority for education reform for the people of PaK is 'New textbooks on good governance and human rights' at 56% 'essential' followed by inspectorate of schools at 47% and licensing Madrassas at 46% 'essential' (Table 5).

Table 5. Education solutions

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
New textbooks on good governance and human rights	56	16	18	7	3
Inspectorate of schools to monitor standards	47	19	18	9	5
Madrassas should be licensed by Government	46	21	17	10	6
Education should be secular	36	35	12	10	6

With regards to security almost everyone requires that 'The violence should stop from all sides' at 58% 'essential', 18% 'desirable', 15% 'acceptable', 7% 'tolerable' and only 2% 'unacceptable' in PaK (Table 6). Results for IaK were understandably very similar. But unlike IaK the option to 'Resolve the conflict through armed struggle' did not receive an unequivocal rejection. In IaK this proposal was 'unacceptable' to 70% of Muslims, 42% of Hindus and 47% of Buddhists but in PaK it was only 8% 'unacceptable'. There was similar equivocation by those interviewed in PaK with regards to the suggestion that 'Pakistan should stop supporting *rebel fighters* in Jammu and Kashmir and close all training camps' at only 20% 'essential'. These preliminary results on these issue should be a matter for some concern.

Table 6. Security solutions

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The violence should stop from all sides	58	18	15	7	2
Pakistan and India should work together for a ceasefire	36	28	17	10	6
<i>Rebel fighters</i> and the Indian Army should cease all hostilities	34	37	13	11	5
Resolve the conflict through armed struggle	33	27	18	9	8
Pressure from the International Community to get camps closed	33	26	17	13	6
Forces of both India and Pakistan should withdraw from both sides of Kashmir	31	30	17	11	6
Pakistan should stop supporting <i>rebel fighters</i> in Jammu and Kashmir and close all training camps	20	30	19	10	7

With regards to Human Rights there is wide support for the idea that 'Majorities and minorities should be treated the same' at 55% 'essential', 14% 'desirable' 19% 'acceptable', 8% 'tolerable' and only 3% 'unacceptable' in PaK (Table 7). But the idea that 'Minority rights in an independent Kashmir will be guaranteed by Islamic law' is 'unacceptable' to only 9% of those interviewed in PaK while 42% of Hindus in IaK and 79% of Buddhists find this proposal 'unacceptable'.

Table 7. Human Rights solutions and the law

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Majorities and minorities should be treated the same	55	14	19	8	3
Minority rights in an independent Kashmir will be guaranteed by Islamic law	36	26	17	10	9
Effective laws to protect all minorities in J and K	23	42	15	12	8

Ideally the people of PaK would believe 'All Kashmiries should be allowed to live together again as they did in the past' at 53% 'essential', 15% 'desirable' 20% 'acceptable', 8% 'tolerable' and only 3% 'unacceptable' (Table 8). And 'Give Kashmir real hope that a solution is coming' at 53% 'essential' etc. etc. (Table 9).

Table 8. Refugee solutions

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
All Kashmiries should be allowed to live together again as they did in the past	53	15	20	8	3
Facilitate the return of youths who have crossed the LoC	36	29	15	9	8
Refugees in Azad Kashmir should be allowed to return home just like Pandit refugees	22	44	16	11	6

Table 9. General peace building solutions

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Give Kashmir real hope that a solution is coming	53	21	16	7	3
Women from all regions of Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan-administered Kashmir should be included in all aspects of the peace process	35	30	16	7	6
Cooperation and friendship leads to conflict resolution	32	30	18	10	5
Everyone who wants to cross the LoC for religious festivals should be allowed to do so	31	32	19	8	7
Politics in Kashmir should focus on education and development	31	26	21	10	10
All NGOs and Civil Society should co-operate to bring the common people together	30	33	18	10	7
The media should be objective and not take sides in the conflict	30	30	21	9	7
Make the bus service across the LoC available to the whole of the population on both sides	30	30	20	10	7
Make travel across the LoC easier	30	26	25	9	7
Live by culture, language and history in addition to religion	29	33	20	9	7
Build identity based on common Kashmir symbols such as Nund Rishi and Lal Ded	29	29	21	11	8
Open borders for social, cultural and economic exchange	28	30	20	10	8
Restore, protect and open all Temples and Shrines	27	32	20	10	8
Build a secular pluralist society	27	28	21	11	10
We must learn from the past	24	47	14	11	3

With regards to negotiations the suggestion that ‘Pakistan and India should talk directly to each other’ comes out on top of the PaK list at 53% ‘essential’, 16% ‘desirable’ 17% ‘acceptable’, 10% ‘tolerable’ and only 4% ‘unacceptable’ (Table 10). But after that the results are mixed. They lack the kind of variation found in the results from IaK which may or may not be something to do with the way the interviews were done, the translations used or differences in the culture of these separated peoples living in clearly very different social, political and security environments. Although the poll undertaken in IaK was more comprehensive than anything that had been done there before the results were consistent with previous polls. In PaK there is a lack of similar research and more polling needs to be done to explore the subtleties of these issues in greater depth and place them in a broader context.

Table 10. Negotiation solutions

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Pakistan and India should talk directly to each other	53	16	17	10	4
All parties should enter into discussions without delay and express their true opinion	34	29	17	10	5
Give refugees representation in negotiations	34	26	18	8	7
Establish an independent commission and forum for peace and reconciliation in Kashmir	33	29	18	9	7
India and Pakistan should facilitate intra Kashmir dialogue	32	24	23	10	7
Establish inclusive working groups to undertake the groundwork and set the agenda for India, Pakistan and leaders of Kashmir	30	31	16	11	7
Don't stop talking because of political radical groups	30	26	21	11	8
India and Pakistan should reach a compromise without input from Kashmir	29	26	19	11	12
Kashmiri people must be part of any talks and settlement of the Kashmir issue	27	33	17	12	7
Negotiation of the peace process must include all 5 regions of Kashmir: Northern Areas, Azad Kashmir, Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	26	30	22	13	7
America or Europe should be an honest broker between India and Pakistan to settle the Kashmir dispute	23	46	15	11	4

Conclusion

What then can be said and what is the way forward for this region of the subcontinent? Each part of Indian and Pakistan administered Kashmir seems to be working to a different constitutional agenda (stay with Pakistan, independence or stay with India) so going down that particular diplomatic road would not seem to provide for any kind of workable solution in the short to medium term. But everyone wants to stimulate their economy; strengthen democracy; improve education and, providing the concerns of the vulnerable minorities, the Hindus and Buddhists, can be properly addressed with effective guarantees then a regional solution may be the answer. There was little objection to this particular proposal in PaK (Table 2). In IaK (Table 1) the resistance was stronger as it clearly is not the first choice of many (particularly the Buddhists). But it would appear to be the best second choice for a significant majority when coupled with an increasing degree of autonomy. Working toward such a diplomatic objective will not be easy but that task would be made very much easier if those advocating the simplistic solution of a referendum would face up to the reality described here. They should now help the process to move forward if they can or keep their council if they can't.

Appendix

Questions and results for PaK

1. The Problems

People from different communities often hold very different views about the problems at the centre of a conflict. Which problems do you consider to be ‘Very significant’, ‘Significant’, ‘Of some significance’, ‘Of little significance’ or ‘Of no significance at all’.

	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little Significance	Of No Significance at all
Poor quality of education	42	18	12	6	11
Independence will not bring safe borders with Kashmir’s neighbours	41	21	11	5	12
India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	41	18	11	5	22
High levels of unemployment	38	25	13	6	9
The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	32	26	13	5	17
Denial of democratic rights	32	26	11	7	15
Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict	30	28	13	5	16
The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going	29	30	12	7	12
Poor quality of infrastructure and services	29	29	14	5	13
Corrupt administration	29	23	20	6	12
Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric	27	31	11	7	16
20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir	27	31	11	8	15
Violence instigated by the Indian Army	25	21	21	8	22
The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights	24	29	15	8	18
Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	20	41	9	7	22
Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	20	16	28	7	22
Violence instigated by international Jihadists	19	23	22	7	20
Violence instigated by Pakistan	19	21	24	8	21

Choosing your options for peace and stability in the region

Most of the remainder of this questionnaire will present you with various options on what could be done to improve the prospects for peace and stability in the region. For each option you will be asked to indicate which ones you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable' and for the purposes of this poll 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' and 'Unacceptable' mean:

'Essential' – *You believe this option is an extremely necessary part of a secure, stable and better future for the region and should be fully implemented.*

'Desirable' – *This option is not what you would consider to be 'Essential', but you think this option, or something very similar to it, is a good idea and should be put into practice.*

'Acceptable' – *This option is not what you would consider to be 'Desirable', if you were given a choice, but you could certainly 'live with it'.*

'Tolerable' – *This option is not what you want. But, as part of a secure, stable and better future, you would be willing to put up with it.*

'Unacceptable' – *This option is totally unacceptable under any circumstances. You would not accept it, even as part of a secure, stable and better future for the region.*

You may use each of the terms 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' and 'Unacceptable' as many times as you wish in each question.

2. Economic solutions

With regards to the future peace and stability of Kashmir please indicate which of the following economic options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Open trade between India and Pakistan	56	15	13	8	7
Telephone links between the 2 Kashmirs	40	28	15	8	7
Open roads of ancient silk route between Leh, Tibet and Pakistan	40	25	18	7	8
Start trade across the LoC	36	30	14	11	7
Joint strategies for economic development between the 2 Kashmirs	33	39	12	10	6

3. Education solutions

With regards to education please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
New textbooks on good governance and human rights	56	16	18	7	3
Inspectorate of schools to monitor standards	47	19	18	9	5
Madrasas should be licensed by Government	46	21	17	10	6
Education should be secular	36	35	12	10	6

4. Security solutions

With regards to security please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The violence should stop from all sides	58	18	15	7	2
Pakistan and India should work together for a ceasefire	36	28	17	10	6
<i>Rebel fighters</i> and the Indian Army should cease all hostilities	34	37	13	11	5
Resolve the conflict through armed struggle	33	27	18	9	8
Pressure from the International Community to get camps closed	33	26	17	13	6
Forces of both India and Pakistan should withdraw from both sides of Kashmir	31	30	17	11	6
Pakistan should stop supporting <i>rebel fighters</i> in Jammu and Kashmir and close all training camps	20	30	19	10	7

5. Human Rights solutions and the law

With regards to Human Rights and the law which of the following options do you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Majorities and minorities should be treated the same	55	14	19	8	3
Minority rights in an independent Kashmir will be guaranteed by Islamic law	36	26	17	10	9
Effective laws to protect all minorities in J and K	23	42	15	12	8

6. Refugee solutions

With regards to refugees (sometimes referred to as IDPs – Internally Displaced Persons) please indicate which of the following options you consider to be ‘Essential’, ‘Desirable’, ‘Acceptable’, ‘Tolerable’ or ‘Unacceptable’.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
All Kashmiries should be allowed to live together again as they did in the past	53	15	20	8	3
Facilitate the return of youths who have crossed the LoC	36	29	15	9	8
Refugees in Azad Kashmir should be allowed to return home just like Pandit refugees	22	44	16	11	6

7. General peace building solutions

With regards to general peace building solutions please indicate which of the following options you consider to be ‘Essential’, ‘Desirable’, ‘Acceptable’, ‘Tolerable’ or ‘Unacceptable’.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Give Kashmir real hope that a solution is coming	53	21	16	7	3
Women from all regions of Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan-administered Kashmir should be included in all aspects of the peace process	35	30	16	7	6
Cooperation and friendship leads to conflict resolution	32	30	18	10	5
Everyone who wants to cross the LoC for religious festivals should be allowed to do so	31	32	19	8	7
Politics in Kashmir should focus on education and development	31	26	21	10	10
All NGOs and Civil Society should co-operate to bring the common people together	30	33	18	10	7
The media should be objective and not take sides in the conflict	30	30	21	9	7
Make the bus service across the LoC available to the whole of the population on both sides	30	30	20	10	7
Make travel across the LoC easier	30	26	25	9	7
Live by culture, language and history in addition to religion	29	33	20	9	7
Build identity based on common Kashmir symbols such as Nund Rishi and Lal Ded	29	29	21	11	8
Open borders for social, cultural and economic exchange	28	30	20	10	8
Restore, protect and open all Temples and Shrines	27	32	20	10	8
Build a secular pluralist society	27	28	21	11	10
We must learn from the past	24	47	14	11	3

8. Negotiation solutions

With regards to negotiations which of the following options do you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Pakistan and India should talk directly to each other	53	16	17	10	4
All parties should enter into discussions without delay and express their true opinion	34	29	17	10	5
Give refugees representation in negotiations	34	26	18	8	7
Establish an independent commission and forum for peace and reconciliation in Kashmir	33	29	18	9	7
India and Pakistan should facilitate intra Kashmir dialogue	32	24	23	10	7
Establish inclusive working groups to undertake the groundwork and set the agenda for India, Pakistan and leaders of Kashmir	30	31	16	11	7
Don't stop talking because of political radical groups	30	26	21	11	8
India and Pakistan should reach a compromise without input from Kashmir	29	26	19	11	12
Kashmiri people must be part of any talks and settlement of the Kashmir issue	27	33	17	12	7
Negotiation of the peace process must include all 5 regions of Kashmir: Northern Areas, Azad Kashmir, Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	26	30	22	13	7
America or Europe should be an honest broker between India and Pakistan to settle the Kashmir dispute	23	46	15	11	4

9. None of the items in this constitutional issues question were asked in PaK as they were considered only relevant to IaK or that they were dealt with in question 10 below.

10. A constitutional package for Kashmir

With regards to a constitutional package for Kashmir please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Join Pakistan - All of J and K should become a part of Pakistan like any other Pakistan Province	43	15	30	8	3
2. Full Independence – All 5 Districts should join to become the independent state of Kashmir with responsibility for both their domestic and foreign policy and protecting their boarders with Pakistan, India and China	19	38	27	8	6
3. Disintegration – Each of the 5 Districts should be allowed to choose their own future with Pakistan or India	35	26	19	10	8
4. Regional integration and devolution – Pakistan and Indian Kashmir should function like a Co-Federation with an open boarder and decentralisation/local control in all Regions, Districts and Blocks	29	31	19	9	9
5. No change – The status quo should stay the same with present Central, State and Regional arrangements for governance	33	26	24	8	7
6. Autonomy – Full implementation of Article 370 and return to the status existing in J and K before 1953 with a Parliament and Prime Minister leaving only defence, foreign policy and communications to India	24	25	18	8	21
7. Join India – All of J and K should become a part of India like any other Indian State	20	18	24	8	25